1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

money, and therefore emphasize personal wealth in the possession of such a commodity. Manufacture was in the handcraft stage, carried on as a supplement to the main business of raising food. Most households were self-sufficient, making whatever they required in the way of tools, utensils or clothing. However, certain towns had access to natural resources which others had not and developed special skill in exploiting them. A town might have a good clay bed, for example, and its pottery would be far superior to that of surrounding communities. Another village would be especially successful in growing peppers, while a third might have in its territory a good quality of obsidian or flint for making stone tools. Thus such products would be exchanged by one town for the produce of another and even redistributed by the same process. Shells from the Caribbean have been traded from hand to hand as far as the central United States; pottery vases from Salvador were carried to distant Tepic* in Mexico; gold ornaments from Panama appeared as votive offerings in the Sacred Well of Chichen Itza in Yucatan.[1] (See Plate 38.)

Such regional specialization was accompanied by the perfectly natural tendency of individuals to exploit what they made and produced with greatest aptitude. As technical knowledge grew specialization increased, and the market became an important institution. Each town held one at specified intervals to which people came from great distances. At Tlaltelolco the daily market was a wonder of the Western world, exciting by its lavish variety the admiring envy of the Spaniards. The importance of the market still persists in Indian communities, so much so that in Guate-

*Té-pe'ek.

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436 mala the people travel miles to exchange their produce; and
443 so important is the market as a social function that a merchant will not dispose of his produce except at that place, even though offered payment far in excess of its market value.*

437 Barter was the only means of exchange, and value was
436 established by desirability and rarity. Money, an exchange medium of fixed value, did not exist. However, something had to be found which would balance an inequality of exchange by being not too valuable to use in adjusting small transactions and at the same time universally wanted. The cacao bean answered this requirement and was easily portable as well. The Aztecs were extremely fond of chocolate (the word itself is of Aztec derivation), so that beans were gladly converted into the national luxury drink. Quills of gold dust sometimes were used as an exchange medium, as were crescent-shaped knives of thin-beaten copper. These last had not the common acceptance or the utility of cacao beans, although they represented easily portable value.*

317 The most precious substance among the Aztecs was jade,
435 or stones resembling it in texture and color. Both jadeite and nephrite occur in the New World, and the American variety is distinguishable from the Asiatic stone. Uncut stones are seldom seen today, for there is no lapidaries' market in modern Middle America or the United States, whereas jade is still extensively worked in China, so that men find it worth their while to search rivers in Burma for boulders of this rare substance. (See Plate 3.)

435 The testimony of the Conquistador Bernal Diaz is conclusive on this point of value. During the night when Cortes retreated from Mexico the leader, after taking off his share of treasure, turned the surplus over to his troops. Many,

b: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Nineteenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

[291 278] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech clouts, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

[262] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

Ic caxtolli onnauj capítulo: ipan mjtoa, in tlatecpanaliztli in tianqujzco: auh in ichoatl tlatoanj, cenca qujmocujtlaujaia.

In tlatoanj qujmocujtlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianqujztli, ioã ixqujch tlanamactli, jmpampa cujtlapilli, atlapalli, maçeoalli, ioan ixquich noa, tepeoa in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequeloloz, injc amo xixicoloz, injc amo ica necacaiaoaloz, injc amo nexictiloz, injc motlacouja, in anoço itla qujmonamaquilia qujtecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacaz, icecentlamantli tlanamactli, çan iieeian, çan iooneian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

qujmjxquetzaia, in tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in qujmocujtlaujaia, in jpan tlatoaia in tianqujztli: ioan ixqujch tlanamactli, iececẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, qujmocujtlaujaia cecentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecujtlaujl catca, injc aiac texixicoz, ioan quenjn tlapatiloaz, quenjn tlanamacoz.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca in coztic, ioan iztac teucujtlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzalitztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtototi, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan ixquich nepapan totoiujtl, tlaçotli in jtech monequja tlaujztli chimalli.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca cacaoatl, vej nacaztli, dilxochitl. Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlamachvipilli, quachtli, ichtilmatli, aiatl,

ioan in ixquich qualonj, in tetech monequj, no nonqua monamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtlaolli xiuhtoctlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, tliletl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, aiecotli. Nexoauhtli, chichiltic oauhtli, mjchicoauhtli. Iztac chia, tliltic chiã, chiantzotzol, iztatl: totoli, vexolotl, çiaoatotoli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, canauhtli, atzitzicujlotl, pipixcan,

1. *Vej nacaztli*: *Cymbopetalum penduliflorum* (Dunal) Baill. in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
2. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 23, *supra*.
3. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 21, *supra*. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "una semilla como hruesjos blancos."

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443 and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6]
643 maguey syrup and honey; hot chila, chili from Atzitziuacan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili
656 from the Couixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long
262 chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] sapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow sapotas, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomitzi*,[14] *cimatic* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Carnia* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs, water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white
[314] paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and
[317] rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and
412 poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves;
[413] maguey roots,[18] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[19a] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[20] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

tlalalacatl. Necuetzcoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, aztitziocaiotl chilli, chiltecpin, texiochilli, chilcoztli, coujxcaiotl chilli, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pocheoac chilli, mjltomatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jxquitlamantli xochiqualli. Capoli, xocatl, maçaxocotl, xaxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eiotzapotl, ıtzapotl, tzapotl, tezocotl, nochtli, mjzaqujtl, itlaaqujllo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiocuachtli, quauhaiocuachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujarl, axolotl, xoauhtli, azaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, ixcaujtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan ixtli, ioan tlatlatilquauujtl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlateconj, aujctli, matlaquauujtl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxelolonj, ioan tepouciolomjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoalonj, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujlolonj, ioan in ixquich tlamãtli qujlitl qualonj, zonacatl, tzaianalqujlitl, vitzqujlitl, oauhqujlitl, oauhtzontli, itzmjqujlitl, qujllanenel, iztac xoxocoioli, xoxocoiolujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, axoxoco, aioiacaqujlitl, aionanacatl, aioxochqujlitl, eçoqujlitl, exotl, elotl, xilotl, oxatl, mjaoxatamalli,

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4. *Atzacuilotl*: "*son redondillas, tienen los picos largos, y agudos y negros: tienen los pies largos: son cenicientas y tienen el pecho blanco: dicen que nacen en la provincia de Anáhuac: crecen a este Lagoma de México entre las aguas o llanos: son muy buenas de comer. Dicen que beben, y los tuerden del agua, por tiempo se conocen en pocos, dicen que las van entrar a hondar en la mar, devaren del agua, y que nunca más parecen*" (*ibid.*, p. 176). Cf. also Soler, *Ensaye Español*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 487 (*atzcuilotl*) says there are two species—*Philacrops urinator* BP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Pipitzcan*: "*son blancas y del grandor de palomas, tienen dos ondo, crianse junto la mar, y al tiempo de criar el todo nacen nos dentro a la tierra, cuando estos son nacen, entiendese que es tiempo de criar A mair*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 183). In Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, these are *Larus franklinii* SW & Rich, currently called *atepocatzin*.

6. *Tlalalacatl*: "*tienen medias . . . . grandes como las de España: tienen los pies colorados y el pico, son pardillas: tienen buenas carnes: tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprovechan para hacer mantas: las plumas de encima son recias, tienen buenas colas: son para cazadas*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). These (*tlalalacatl*), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 194, are *Anser albifrons* Gml.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*.—"*Cuentan género de chile llamado chiltecpin, muy tostado y molido con sal*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 102)

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *supra*.

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 10, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 9, *supra*.

12. Similar, *op. cit.*; note also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. *Tezocotl*: *tejocote*—*Crataegus mexicana* Moc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 190).

14. *Cacomitzi*: *cacomixtle*—*Tigrisoma pacaana* Kerr; *melanolichtal*, of edible meat (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 457.

15. *Cimatl*: *cimate*, a condiment (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 332). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Dermatobium cimpiblobium* Hensl. (p. 639) or *D. parasiforum* Mart. y Gal (p. 661).

16. *Chiotl*: *chayote*—*Sycios edulis*; *Sechium edule*; *Cucumis acutangulus* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 169, *Sechium edule* Sw.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of *quauhayacachtli* are identified as *Jatropha curcas* Linn., *Manihot utilissima* (?) Pohl, *Croton* sp., *Canna flaccida* Linn.

18. *Metelhuatl*: *metl* (maguey), *ouhtzontl* (*principio, comienzo*, in Molina, *op. cit.*).

19. Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that Hendon must be in error in translating *axixquilitl* as cardoon, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the Bodleian MS (Pls. 30, 73) illustrates a thistle (*Cirsium* sp.). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 62, describes it (*pitzopatlac*) as, "*Es Mijón espinoso de almohada*" (*artichoke*).

19a. See Emmart, *op. cit.*, pp. 569-4, 569. Emmart suggests that "*huauhtzontli may be a corruption of . . . cuauhtzontli*," a chenopodium: *C. Nuttalliae* and *C. quadriceps* are mentioned.

20. *Xoconochtli*: *xocoyol*—*Oxalis angustifolia* H. B. K.; *O. corniculata* L.; *O. sensipalla* Cav.; *O. sericellata* Dz. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154). Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 236) mentions other varieties of *Oxalis*, but on p. 213 notes that the term sorrel is used also for *Rumex* (subgenus *Acetosa*), and that *acetosopsis* likewise identifies two species of *Begonia*.

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ueuetl; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it. .

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

ololtzcalli, ioan in jaquich qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, 443
necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcal- 656
mjmjlli. 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca 443
acaquauitl, acaiiotl, iiotlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xoch- 463
iocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tle- 656
quantli, ioan apantli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl,
ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in [276]
çoquitecomatl, ioã in jaquich tlamantli çoquitlat- [415]
quitl.

Auh in ichcuntin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intla- 685
camo quimocuitlauja, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoal-
tilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli quinamaca,
ẽço tlaçotilmatli, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oximach-
iliioc, intlacamo quinextia in aquin quicohujli, in
ilein tlachtectli, quitzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tla-
tlatonequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmaca-
çia in ilein tlachtectli, aiac vel quicoaia,

in jntequjuh catca tianquizpantlaca quichioaia 443
iiaujtacatl, in tlaxcalitzompochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan 722
tenextzalli, ioan nextlamalhoutzalli, injc ipan tequitia 651
tianquiztli, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaix- 705
quetzalli oquichti, ioan çoa in tequitlatoque catca.

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 239, describes epazotillo as "hojas y cimas de las yerbas"; on p. 338, however, it is given as Marrubium vulgare L.

[p. 70 is blank]

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726 balls. Thereupon they shot iron bolts; but only one was pierced, in the forehead, wherefore he then died. Castañeda was the one who shot the arrow. And the chieftains moved in against him and they drove [the Spaniards] into the water, stoning them. And Castañeda there would have perished, but he clung to the boat and thus they carried him to Xoccotitlan.

[349] And one boat lay at Tetenantepotzco, where the walls curve.[7] And another boat lay there at Totocco,[8] [491] where the road goes direct to Tepetzinco.[9] It only lay on guard in the water, and at nightfall they took it [away].

And some days thereafter the Spaniards once again resolved [to war upon] us.[10] Then they came, [443 317] and chose the Quauecatitlan[11] road which led direct to the salt market. But there on the Quauecatitlan road, they could not spread out. So all those of Tlaxcalla, Acolhuacan, and Chalco thereupon filled in the canals.[12] And on the road where they could not spread out, they cast adobes and roof beams; door lintels, pillars, and round logs were set in; they threw bundles of reeds into the water. And when it was filled in, then the Spaniards, disposed [in battle order], very slowly proceeded: a cotton banner led them; they went blowing trumpets and beating drums. And behind them went in position all the Tlaxcallans, and indeed all those of [other allied] [533] cities. Those of Tlaxcalla became very brave; they shook their heads, beat their chests, and sang. The Mexicans also sang. There was chanting on both sides. They intoned whatsoever they remembered. Thus they were able to animate themselves.

And as they reached Tlalhuacan,[13] all the chieftains were crouched; they stretched themselves out very flat, and were well hidden. They hid their

ça ce inmjnoc iquac, njman ic momjqujli: icheaol in valtemj in castañeda. Auh in tlacaoã itech ietiquizque, atlan quinnemjtique, quintetepachoque: auh vncã mjquizquja in castañeda: auh ça acaltitech pilcatia injc quivicaque xoccotitlan.

Auh centetl acalli onoca tetenantepotzco, vncã in colivi tetenamjtl: auh in oc centetl acalli vmpa onoca in totecco: in jpan vtli tlamelaoa Tepetzinco, çan tlatlapixtoca in atlan. Auh in ie ioa quivica.

Auh iquezquilhuioc ie no ceppa techcentlatalhuj in Españoles: nec vitze, ie quioalmotilique in quauecatitlan vtli, in oallamelauhticac iztanamacoian. Auh in vncan in quauecatitlan in vtli ca moiauhque. Auh in jxquich tlaxcaltecatl, in aculhuacatl, in chalcatl: njman ie ic catzupa in acalutli: yoan in oca moiauhque vtli: contlaça in zamjtl, yoan in calquavitl, in tecoc in tlaixquatl in tlaquetzalli, in quãmjmjlli, in acatl quicujtlalpia in contepeoa atlan. Auh in jquac in omotzop nec valmotema in Españoles, cencã ivian in iatvitze, quinaicana in quachpanjtl, tlapitavitze, tlatzotzontivitze. Auh imjcampa onotivitze in ie ixquich tlaxcaltecatl, yoan in ie ixquich altepeoa, cenca muchicava moquaquacuecuechos, meeltzotzona in tlaxcalteca, cujca, no cujca in mexica necoccampa cujco, quoca in çaço tlein quijnamjcuj, ic mellaquaoa muchioa.

Auh in oacico tlalhuacan in tlacaoã vel nepacholo, vel mopachos vel netlatilo, quitetzontlaliaia, quichixtoque in quemman teevitilor, in quenman quij-

7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"cerca de aquella ygleisia que se llama ahora Isabel."* Cano (*op. cit.*) places it in la Garita de Peralvillo, *barrio* of Tolpetlac-Guadalupe.

8. *"Cerca de la Casa...pública Almoneda."* — Cano, *op. cit.*

9. El Pedale de los Bilbos — east of the corner of Tenochtitlan, on the lake. However, Reyes and Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 46 and map, locate it on a hill in the southeastern part of Tlatelolco.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: *"determinaron entre si los españoles de darnos guerra por alli."*

11. Quauhcatitlan *acequella* — *"calle que iba derecha de Hornedos al Mercado de la Sal. . . . probablemente hasta encontrar el Allerruelo y probablemente correspondia con la Calzada de Hornedos, Mercado, Almacenes, Carnejal y Rincon."* — Cano, *op. cit.* Reyes and Barlow, *op. cit.*, show it in their map in in the northeast part of the city.

12. In Buenaventura, *loc. cit.*, the version is somewhat different from what appears in either the Spanish or Nahuatl text of the Florentine Codex: *"por razon de las grandes ayudas que los indios habian venido en su provincia, tornaron á proponer guerra de nuevo, haciendo juramento solemne que la guerra no cesaria de ahi hasta que vengasen la muerte de sus hermanos los españoles, y no quedase hombre dellos que no muriese en sus manos. El dia señalado comenzaron á seguir todas las acequias y caminos de manera por donde pudiesen entrar los unos donde los hargamones no podian entrar, y asi comenzaron á derrocar chozas, y allanar todas las acequias."*

13. Corresponding Spanish text: *"en barrio que se llama Tlaxcaque que es aquese mismo mjsmo"* (San Martin).

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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Temple of Huichilobos, and that he wished to consult the Great Montezuma and have his approval. For this purpose he sent Jerónimo de Aguilar and the Doña Marina as messengers, and with them went our Captain's small page named Orteguilla, who already understood something of the language. When Montezuma knew his wishes he sent to say that we were welcome to go; on the other hand, as he was afraid that we might do some dishonour to his Idols, he determined to go with us himself with many of his chieftains. He came out from his Palace in his rich litter, but when half the distance had been traversed and he was near some oratories, he stepped out of the litter, for he thought it a great affront to his idols to go to their house and temple in that manner. Some of the great chieftains supported him with their arms, and the tribal lords went in front of him carrying two staves like sceptres held on high, which was the sign that the Great Montezuma was coming. (When he went in his litter he carried a wand half of gold and half of wood, which was held up like a wand of justice). So he went on and ascended the great Cue accompanied by many priests, and he began to burn incense and perform other ceremonies to Huichilobos.

Let us leave Montezuma, who had gone ahead as I have said, and return to Cortés and our captains and soldiers, who according to our custom both night and day were armed, and as Montezuma was used to see us so armed when we went to visit him, he did not look upon it as anything new. I say this because our Captain and all those who had horses went to Tlaltelolco on horseback, and nearly all of us soldiers were fully equipped, and many Caciques whom Montezuma had sent for that purpose went in our company. When we arrived at the great market place, called Tlaltelolco, we were astounded at the number of people and the quantity of merchandise

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that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

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deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

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off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were already approaching its great courts, before leaving the market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging.

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamanca, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place.

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

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out of the city, as I shall tell later on, and that of Tepeaquilla,[1] and we saw the fresh water that comes from Chapultepec which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart through which the water of the lake flowed in and out from one side to the other, and we beheld on that great lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food and others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise; and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house, except by drawbridges which were made of wood or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold; then the houses with flat roofs, and on the causeways other small towers and oratories which were like fortresses.

After having examined and considered all that we had seen we turned to look at the great market place and the crowds of people that were in it, some buying and others selling, so that the murmur and hum of their voices and words that they used could be heard more than a league off. Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy, and in Rome, said that so large a market place and so full of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had never beheld before.

Let us leave this, and return to our Captain, who said to Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who has often been mentioned by me, and who happened to be near by him: "It seems to me, Señor Padre, that it would be a good thing to throw out a feeler to Montezuma, as to whether he would allow us to build our church here"; and the Padre replied that

[1] Guadelupe.

805 reference to the circle. The third character was the
212 representation of a house, which they call Ce calli [One House]. It is placed to the west with reference to the circle. The fourth character is the likeness of a rabbit, which they call Ce tochtli [One Rabbit]; it is placed to the south with reference to the circle. By means of these characters they counted fifty-two years, assigning thirteen years to each character. And they counted in this manner, One Reed, Two Flint Knife, Three House, Four Rabbit, and so on, so describing circles by means of these characters, until
805 each one attained thirteen years. These, altogether,
796 make up four times thirteen and equal fifty-two
372 years. The purpose or intention of this count is to
*787 renew, every fifty-two years, the covenant, contract, or vow, to serve the idols. Because at the end of the fifty-two-year [cycle] they observed a very solemn feast and made new fire, and extinguished all the old [fires]. And all the provinces of this New Spain took of this new fire. Then they renewed all the statues of the idols and all of their adornment, as well as the intention of serving them for the next fifty-two years. And also they had a prophecy or oracle of the devil that at [the end of] one of these periods the world would come to an end.

805 The third count which these natives used was the
212 art of divination of the fortune or luck which those
787 born would have, whether men or women. It was done in this way. They had twenty characters. The first they named Crocodile, the second Wind, the third House, the fourth Lizard, the fifth Serpent, etc., up to twenty, as is represented in the chart at the end of this Appendix. They said that each of these characters reigned thirteen days, so that all together are two hundred and [sixty] days. Some say that these thirteen-day [periods] are weeks of the month, but this is not so. Rather they are the number of days in which the sign or character
● [443] reigneth. The weeks of the month are of five days, and so there are, in each month, four weeks; and the *tianquiztli*, or markets, are fixed according to this number of days, or used to be so fixed. So that by periods of five days they established the markets or fairs. And so they had no weeks [of seven days], but rather periods of five days. And nowadays, in many places, they set the markets and fairs according to our seven-day weeks. In this illicit soothsaying

hazia la parte del septendrion en respecto del circulo. El tercero caracter era vna pintada que ellos llaman ce calli, esta puesta hazia la parte del occidente, en respecto del circulo. El quarto caracter es la semejança de vn conejo que ellos llaman ce tochtli: esta puesto hazia la parte del medio dia, en respecto del circulo: contauan por estos caracteres cincuenta y dos años, dando a cada vno de los caracteres trese años, y contauan desta manera, ce acatl, vme tecpatl, ei calli, navi tochtli, y ansi dando buelltas, por estos caracteres, hasta que en cada vno se cumpliesuen trese años, los quales todos juntos, son quatro vezes trese que hazen cincuenta y dos años: el fin o intencion desta cuenta es, renouar cada cincuenta y dos años, el pacto, o concierto, o juramento de servjr a los idolos. Porque en el fin de los cincuenta y dos años, hazian vna muy solemne fiesta, y sacauan fuego nueuo, y apagauan todo lo viejo y tomauan todas las prouincias desta nueua españa fuego nueuo; entonce renouauan todas las estatuas de los idolos y todas sus alhajas, y el proposito de seruirlos otros cincuenta i dos años. Y tambien tenjan profecia o oraculo del demonjo, que en vno destos periodos se auja de acabar el mundo.

La tercera cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, era el arte para adiujnar la fortuna o uentura, que tendrian los que nacian hombres y mugeres. Era desta manera que tenjan viente caracteres: al primero llamauan cipactli, el segundo hecatl, el tercero calli, el quarto cuetzpali, el quinto coatl. &c. hasta viente como esta pintado en la figura, que esta al fin deste apèndix: desian que cada vno destos caracteres, reinaua trese dias, que todos juntos son dozientos y setenta [sic] dias. Algunos dizen que estos trese dias son semanas del mes y no es ansi sino numero de dias en que reina el signo o caracter: las semanas de los meses son cinco dias y ansi ay en cada mes quatro semanas y los tianquez, o mercados por este numero de dias se señalla, [sic] o solian señallarse, que de cinco en cinco dias hechauā los mercados, o ferias, y ansi no tenjan semana, sino quintana, y agora en muchas partes hechan los mercados y ferias por nuestra semana de siete en siete dias. En esta cuenta adiujnatoria i no licita entreponense los caracteres de la cuenta de los años; conviene a saber, aquellos quatro caracteres de que arriba se hizo mencion, que es caña,

* See Plates 102-104.

796 mountains. Those who were there watching then raised a cry which rose to the heavens with joy that
372 the world was not ending and that they had another fifty-two years assured.

The last ceremony of new fire which they held was in the year 1507. They held it with full solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land. In the year 1559 ended the next bundle of years, which they call Toximmolpilia. On this occasion they held no public ceremony, because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land. So that this year, 1576, is the fifteenth of the current bundle of years.

796 When they made the new fire and held this cere-
778 mony, they renewed their covenant with the devil to serve him, and they renovated all the statues of the devil which they had in his house, and all the ornaments for his service, and those of their houses. And they rejoiced greatly to know that now they held the world to be secure and that it would not come to an end for fifty-two years. It is clear that this device of counting years was an invention of the devil to make them renew the covenant which they made with him every fifty-two years — [the devil] terrifying them with [the threat of] the end of the world and making them think that he lengthened the time and favored them thereby, letting the world move on.

796 Besides this they held, every eight years, a fast on
785 bread and water, for eight days; and at its conclusion they celebrated a feast in which they held a solemn dance by various personages, in which they said that they revealed what would come to pass or what fortune they merited; and they called it Atamalquaxiztli.

796 They observed another feast every four years, in
304 honor of the fire [god], during which they pierced
805 the ears of all the boys and girls; and they called it Pillauanalizt̃li. And during this feast it is likely, and there are conjectures, that they held their leapyear, reckoning six [days] of Nemontemi.

805 The remaining time-count is of the year, which
796 they divided into eighteen months, to each of which they assigned twenty days. And each of these months was dedicated to one god, or to two, and
● 443 during it they held their feast. Each of these months they divided into five-day periods, and held the fairs on the last day of these five in one town, and five days later in another, and another five days later in

y los que estauan alli a la mira, leuantauan luego vn alarido que le ponjan en el cielo de alegria que el mundo no se acabaua y que tenjan otros cincuenta y dos años por ciertos.

La vltima solemnjdad, que hizieron deste fuego nueuo: fue el año de mill y quinjentos, y siete: hizieronle, con toda solemnjdad, porqué no avian venjdo los españoles, a esta tierra: el año de mjll y quinjẽtos y cincuenta y nueue, se acabo la otra gabilla de años: que ellos llaman Toximmolpilia. En esta, no hizieron solemnjdad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra. De manera que este año de mjll y quinjentos y setenta y seis, anda en quinze años, de la gabilla de años que corre.

Quando sacauan fuego nueuo, y hazian esta solemnjdad, renouauan el pacto que tenjan con el demonjo de servjrle: y renouauan todas las estatuas del demonjo, que en su casa tenjan, y todas las alhajas de su serujcio, y las de sus casas: y hazian grandes alegrias, por saber, que ya tenjan el mundo seguro, que no se acabaria por cincuenta y dos años. Claramente consta, que este artificio de contar, fue invencion del diablo, pará hazerlos renouar el pacto que con el tenjan de cincuenta, en cincuenta y dos años: y amedrẽtandolos con la fin del mundo, y haziendolos entender, que el alargaua el tiempo y les hazian merced del passando el mundo adelãte.

Demas desta cuenta tenjan que de ocho en ocho años, hazian vn ayuno de pan y agua, por espacio de ocho dias, y hazian al cabo, vna fiesta donde hazian solemne areito de diuersos personajes; donde dezian, que descubrian ventura o que la merecian, y llamauanla Atamalcualizt̃li.

Otra fiesta hazian, de quatro en quatro años, a honrra del fuego, donde agujerauan las orejas a todos los niños, y njñas, y la llamauan pillauanalizt̃li. Y en esta fiesta es verisimjle, y ay conjecturas que haziã su bisexto, contando seis de nemontemj.

la otra cuenta del tiempo, es de vn año: el qual repartian en dezjocho meses, y a cada mes le dauan veinte dias: y cada vno destos meses, era dedicado a vno, o a dos dioses: y hazian en el su fiestas, cada vno destos meses, le repartian de cinco in cinco dias, y hazian las ferias el vltimo dia, destos cinco, en vn pueblo: y dende a cinco dias en otro, y dende a otros cinco dias en otro. De manera que el quarto quin-

[still] another [town]. So that the fourth period of five days was the feast of the god who was honored in the following month. The five days in addition to the three hundred and sixty of the complete year they regarded as idle and unlucky, and so did not take account of them for any purpose. But they kept track of all the days and all the months of the year, and of all the five-day periods of the year, which are four in each month.

These natives had another count which followeth neither the year-count, nor the months, nor the five day periods, which may wrongly be called weeks. This count hath twenty characters, as is represented in the chart behind this page.[1] To each one of these characters they assigned thirteen days, during which one of these characters reigned. Thus each one reigned thirteen days, and the round which these characters with their days made, is of two hundred and sixty days. This round includeth one hundred and five days less than a year. The count was used to foretell the circumstances and events of life which those born [on given day signs] would have. It is a difficult count, full of error, and with no foundation of natural astrology. For the art of judiciary astrology, common among us, is founded upon natural astrology, which is in the signs and planets of the heavens and in their courses and aspects. But this art of soothsaying followeth, or is founded upon, some characters and numbers in which no natural foundation existeth, but [are] only an artifice made by the devil himself. Nor is it possible that any man could have made or invented this art. For it hath no foundation in any science nor in any natural order. Rather it appeareth to be a thing of fraud and deceit than rational or ingenious. I say it was fraud and deceit in order to dazzle and derange people of low capacity and little understanding. Notwithstanding, this art of soothsaying, or rather, diabolical fraud or deceit, was highly regarded; and those who knew and practised it were also greatly honored and esteemed. For they told of things to come, and were regarded as truthful by the populace, although they spoke no truth except by accident and mistake. This art followeth neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor five-year periods nor olympiads, as some, in their dreams, have said and erroneously affirmed.

tanaaco, era la fiesta del dios que se celebraua en el mes que se seguja: los cinco dias que son mas de los trezientos y sesenta de todo el año, tenjanlos por valdios, y haziagro: y assi no hazian cuenta dellos para njnguna cosa. Pero cuenta tenjan con todos los dias del año, y con todos los meses del año, y con todas las quintanas del año, que son quatro en cada mes.

Otra cuenta tenjan, entre naturales que nj sigue la cuenta del año, nj de los meses, nj de las quintanas, que impropriamente se pueden dezir semanas. Esta cuenta, tiene viente caracteres, como esta pintado en la tabla, que esta detras desta hoja: a cada vno destos caracteres, atribuyan trese dias: en las quales reinaua vno destos caracteres: de manera que cada vno reinaua trese dias, y el circulo que estos caracteres con sus dias hazian, son dozientos y sesenta dias: el qual circulo, tiene ciento y cinco dias menos, que vn año. Esta cuenta se vsaua para adiujnar las condiciones, y sucesos de la vida, que tendrian los que naciessen. Es cuenta delicula, y muy mentirosa, y sin njngun fundamento de astrologia natural. Porque el arte de la astrológia judiciaria, que entre nosotros se vsa, tiene fundamento en la astrologia natural, que es en los signos, y planetas del cielo, y en los cursur y aspectos dellos. Pero esta arte adiujnatoria siguese o fundase en vnos caracteres, y numeros, en que njngun fundamento natural av, sino solamente artificio fabricado, por el mesmo diablo, nj es posible que njngun hombre fabricasse, nj inventasse esta arte: porque no tiene fundamento, en njnguna sciencia, nj en njnguna razon natural: mas parece cosa de embuste y embaimjento, que no cosa razonal, nj artificiosa. Digo que fue embuste y embaimjento, para encandilar, y desatinar a gente de poca capazidad, y de poco entendimjento. No obstante esto, era tenjda en mucho, esta arte adiujnatoria o mas propriamente hablando embuste o embaimjento diabolico: y tambien los que la sabian, y vsauan erá muy hõrrados y tenjdos: porque dezian las cosas por venjr, y del vulgo eran tenjdos por verdaderos, aunque njnguna verdad dezian sino acaso, y por jerro. Esta arte, nj sigue años, nj meses, nj semanas, nj lustros, nj olimpiadas, como algunos soñando dixeron, y afirmaron falsamẽte.

1. See Plates LIII and LIV.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 126, 126. - AM 1/15 1/4]